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all of the European States, discussing for nine long months their difficulties, with the result that they were able to settle them for a generation. If the Napoleonic wars produced such a result, the war now upon us will mean another gathering of the European nations in the interest of a more permanent peace. We need to remind ourselves frequently of the inspiring lessons of The Hague conventions, at both of which the nations framed laws for themselves and paved the way for judicial settlement. That all the nations now at war disclaim having started it, indeed, that they are fighting against war, is significant. The Wilson-Bryan treaties are now the law for this nation and sixteen others. The Canadian boundary is a constant example of the strength of an unfortified frontier. The rise of Pan Americanism out of our Declaration of Independence, which later inspired the independence of the other twenty American republics—a movement as old as Henry Clay and as new as the American Institute of International Law—is most hopeful. Then there are the evidences of a newer order, of an aristocracy of duties, service, and achievement, of that intensive and rational patriotism which we conceive to be an enthusiastic interest in promoting for our country its reputation for happiness and efficiency within and for fairness and justice to all without. By concentrating upon improved international relations and promoting the blessings of democracy, the pacifists attain unto their permanent satisfactions. Our noblest ideal for America is that here we may in our various institutions continue to show the genuine values in a peaceful and judicial state. In short, the aim of the pacifists is to substitute justice for force in the interest of life, liberty, property, and happiness; and our watchword is education.

THE DUTY TO THINK SANELY

THE people of the warring nations abroad can neither think sanely nor speak freely. The nations at war are mad. Democracy among them is no more. Newspapers are suppressed in liberty-loving England and France. The *habeas corpus* act is suspended. A man in Melbourne, Australia, known to oppose the method of recruiting, was visited by a committee, taken from his office, and tarred and feathered. A woman client, of no relation to the gentleman, but found in his office and thought to be his wife, was also tarred and feathered on general principles. The French novelist, Romain Rolland, finds himself a suspect because he refuses to hate the enemies of his country. He and many others are practically exiled from their native lands simply upon suspicion.

The statesmen of our country, right-thinking people generally, must view with pity, not alone the killing and the devastation in terms of wealth, but the breakdown

of calm judgment and of the poise so vital to wise behavior. This is no time for the Red Terror in America nor for the spirit of the drumhead court-martial. The wild expressions of professional alarmists should be weighed before acceptance. This is no time for a Navy General Board or for a military clique to replace the Congress. The man who talks threateningly about this country going to war with Japan, Germany, England, as if it were probable, is no fit person to whom to listen. He is a traitor in the camp of reason.

Our specific duty is to overcome any tendency to rear upon the groundwork of our unexampled but unperfected democracy what might be the structures of a military tyranny.

Why must we tremble at the goblins of imaginations run wild? Why be led around by the nose by people whose views are buttressed only upon the shallow sands of "It is thought"? "It is thought" that the Japanese are planning an alliance with Russia in order that British and American policies in China may be overcome. "It is thought" that the whole policy of Japan is to overcome our insistence upon an open door in China. "It is thought" that a victorious Germany would levy indemnity upon New York. "It is thought" that England, if victorious, would do the same. "It is thought" that imperialistic exploitation and Standard Oil in Manchuria are in danger; that the same is true of franchised monopolies in Latin-America; and that therefore we must prepare for domination in terms of vaster and more formidable armaments.

What is needed is more voices pleading for policies of rational mutual advantage. The intelligence of the world, what is left of it, needs to be concentrated upon the problem of world peace. We need to ask ourselves more searchingly how best we may aid in the co-operative development of backward regions. Missionary zeal in behalf of democracy and genuine prosperity, of the good of the world—where is that just now?

If States are overgrown and the world is adrift, as recently suggested by Lord Bryce and Mr. L. P. Jacks, let us somehow discover it, own up to it, and overcome it. Our vast contemporary literature of just "Where in the devil are we?" should give way to the question: "Toward what should we be headed; and how, once started, can we continue in that direction?"

Surely the America we love cannot long survive upon the theory that we exist simply to furnish a commissariat for the world war, and for other wars which need not come. One who reads disinterestedly the American press cannot wholly escape the impression that we in America are walking more and more "in a vain show"; that we are "heaping up riches," and that we "know not who shall gather them."

To every American the supreme call from out this "brawl in the dark" is to think sanely.